

WORKERS AGE

A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

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Paterson Unions Amalgamating

Paterson, N. J.

The Paterson silk workers are rapidly approaching amalgamation. The experiences of the workers themselves have driven them to take steps to abolish the age-old condition of craft division. Up to the present there are functioning in Paterson 8 local unions. (Weavers, Loom Fixers, and Twisters, Wappers, Reed Makers, Designers and Card Cutters, Harness Builders, Label Weavers, Ribbon Twisters). These meet separately handle their own grievances and work under separate agreements.

As a result of the 1933 general strike, one agreement was signed covering all crafts. Under these circumstances closer cooperation between the crafts became a vital necessity. Under Keller's intelligent handling of this problem the possibilities for amalgamation were increased manifold.

After months of discussion with the active workers in the various crafts a joint meeting of the Executive Board of the various crafts was held. Keller introduced the subject with a talk on the merits of industrial unionism. The discussion proved that there existed sufficient clarity and agreement to proceed with the drafting of a plan of action. The following plan was agreed to and has been placed before the General Executive Board of the U.T.W. for approval.

1. A central headquarters for all local unions be opened.
2. 75c per member, per month go into a central treasury.
3. All organizers be paid from the central treasury.
4. One Joint Board of all crafts be set up.
5. Equal representation from each craft on the Joint Board.
6. One from each craft executive on the Joint Board.
7. Joint Board to set up all sub-committees.
8. Joint Board to designate a chairman for general membership meetings.
9. Quarterly membership meetings.
10. Joint Board to elect a nominating committee. The membership to vote by ballot on the nominees for Manager proposed by this committee.
11. Crafts to select their own organizers.
12. Membership of each craft to elect craft Executive Board.
13. Craft membership meetings once a month.
14. Each of three major crafts (Wappers, Weavers and Loom Fixers) to be equally represented on the Relations Board.
15. Each craft maintains its charter and its present funds (Death Benefits, etc.)
16. Shop as the basic unit of the union.
17. All crafts in the shops meet together, act together on all shop matters and grievances.
18. A general drive to organize the unorganized to be begun immediately.
19. A weekly union paper to be started.
20. The name of the organization to be—The American Federation of Silk Workers, Paterson District.

In the Next Issue:

1. The Declaration of Principles of the Socialist Party.
by Socialisticus
2. Guerrilla War in Cuba.
by Ellen Ward

Demand Freedom For Thaelmann

Ernst Thaelmann, leader of the Communist Party of Germany is the first of 6,000 anti-fascist German workers, to face the Nazi courts on July 2. Defeated in their attempts at "legal" assassination of Dimitroff and Torgler by the mass pressure of the working class, the fascist butchers are now determined that Thaelmann does not go free.

Every class conscious worker, every working class organization must help to intensify and broaden the campaign to halt the bloody hands of fascism. Send your protests now. Secure post cards and signature lists, participate in picketing demonstration and help raise sufficient funds to send a delegation of American lawyers to defend Thaelmann and the other victims of Fascism.

For all supplies and material apply at National Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism, 870 Broadway, New York City.

Great Interest In Training School

Application for the three weeks training course being established by the New Workers School (July 9 to July 31) have been pouring in ever since the announcement of the plans for the school. To this date the following applications have been accepted: 4 from Canada, 3 from Detroit, 3 from Chicago, 2 from the Pacific Coast, 2 from Boston, 2 from Hartford, 1 from Fort Wayne, 1 from Philadelphia, 1 from the Anthracite Coal fields and 5 from upper New York State. 25 applications are on hand from workers in New York City.

Most of the out-of-town students are hitch-hiking in order to avail themselves of the opportunity to become more effective fighters in the class struggle.

One friend of the New Workers School has sent in \$10 to help finance the Training School. Another sympathizer has volunteered to take care of 3 students during the duration of the school term.

The New Workers School appeals to all friends and to all those interested in having a group of workers trained for the big struggles ahead, to contribute as liberally as possible. Many of these workers coming to the school have given up their jobs to attend. We are sure there must be a sufficient number of workers to render the necessary aid to complete this task.

COMPANY UNION GRIPS STEEL INDUSTRY

The American Iron and Steel Institute has just published the results of the balloting in the various steel mills, showing that out of over 193,000 ballots cast almost 75% supported the company union.

"These figures" says the Institute statement, "clearly confirm the position of the steel industry that strike talk by union leaders was not supported by the vast majority of employees."

In order to fully understand the meaning of these results, in which over 90% of the eligible workers participated (In the case of Jones and Laughlin almost 100% of the workers voted—15,665 out of 15,740) we must turn to the Weirton Steel.

There it was proven beyond any shadow of a doubt that it is a myth to speak of a free and voluntary election "inside" of a factory. Even were there no other element of coercion to enter into the election, the very fact that the voting is being done on company property under the eagle eyes of the numerous straw bosses and stool pigeons, for which the steel industry has made itself infamous, is sufficient to provide a background of fear and insecurity. The very heavy voting is in itself an indication of that—workers are

afraid not to vote.

But was there no coercion in the balloting? Is there any reason to believe that conditions for a free and voluntary choice were any greater in the U. S. Steel and the Republic Steel Corporations than they were in Weirton Steel? In the latter case numerous workers stated in signed affidavits that the

Defendant (Weirton Steel Company) employed various measures of coercion, intimidation and interference, including discharges, lay-offs, demotions and changes in condition of employment and threats thereof; it threatened the closing of plants, the transfer of work and the reduction of operations. The management engaged in individual and collective solicitation and urging, held mass meetings, gave special inducements and made coercive speeches; it engaged in misrepresentation and espionage."

After listening to all the evidence in this case Judge Nields is forced to admit that

"It is true the company took an active part in advising its employees to vote for the nominees of the company union . . .

"The President of the company appeared at a number of meetings, as did other officers and foremen of the company. Such meetings were held nearly every night for three weeks prior to the elections."

These were the conditions in Weirton Steel and it is safe to assume that conditions in other steel mills are no different; that Weirton Steel is not the exception but the rule. There is not a man or woman in the labor movement who will take seriously the claim that "company unions are favored by the overwhelming majority of the employees."

The results of this balloting, however, prove that those in the labor movement who babble about the increase of democracy in American industry are either outright agents of the bosses or are so near sighted as to be utterly useless in the labor movement. In either case the labor movement must rid itself of these elements. The results further prove that the entire officialdom of the A. F. of L. is criminally guilty of either aiding or passively observing the spectacle of the workers in a basic industry being shackled with the chains of company unionism, without lifting a finger to arouse the labor movement to this growing menace. It further proves the utter futility of depending on the Roosevelts, Johnsons or Wagners to outlaw company unionism.

All labor and social legislation are belated recognitions of the accomplished facts. The eight hour day was won thru militant struggles. Only then did it receive its recognition in law. So is it with the struggle against company unionism.

The trade union movement must be placed on war footing. The dead-rot of bureaucratic leadership must be discarded, must give way to a more militant and aggressive leadership from the ranks. The trade unions must be recast along industrial lines and must be prepared organizationally, morally and financially for the battles that are coming.

Russia and the League

by BERTRAM D. WOLFE

It is altogether proper and necessary that the Soviet Union should utilize every difference between the imperialist powers to prolong peace. The leaders of Soviet foreign policy have been ever on the alert to detect every difference, however small, to drive an entering wedge into even the slightest fissure in the anti-soviet front; and in the process Soviet diplomacy has scored notable victories and prolonged beyond its own hopes and dreams the period of unstable equilibrium, of armed peace, the "breathing spell" for defensive preparation, socialist construction, and the maturing of revolutionary forces in the non-capitalist world.

Is League Entrance a Desertion Of Communism?

It is now becoming apparent that in the pursuance of the above policy the Soviet government is preparing to cooperate more closely with, perhaps even to enter the League of Nations. Does this involve anything new in principle? Does it, as the Trotskyites are intimating, imply any abandonment of the principles of Communism? In our judgment it does not. The same motives which have led the Soviet Union to enter into diplomatic relations and non-aggression pacts with government after government, justify its entering into pacts with several governments at once (regional pacts), or with all the governments of the world together (Kellogg Pact). Has not the Soviet government repeatedly

participated in, nay forced its way into, conferences called by the League, e.g. the disarmament conferences, the economic conferences? Beginning with the first delegation sent in Lenin's time to a conference in Geneva, and continuing until the latest diplomatic victories of Litvinov, the Soviet government has pursued this policy with notable success in the prolonging of peace, the exposure of diplomatic comedies and plots, the utilization of these world platforms to speak to the masses of all lands and present the Soviet position, the fomentation or utilization of differences inside the ranks of the imperialist powers.

Who Uses Whom?

Naturally all such activities involve certain dangers. In all diplomatic relationships there is always a hidden question: Who uses whom? The bourgeois statesmen entering into negotiations with the Soviet Union pursue their own bourgeois aims. Within certain limits, e.g. the mutual advantages of certain forms of trade, these aims may even not be in direct contradiction with each other. But these limits are extremely narrow and unstable. Fundamental for the wide range and the long run is an irreconcilable antagonism of interests, maneuvering and temporizing in what must be, in the end, a life and death struggle between two classes and two social orders.

Soviets Must Guard Against Sowing Illusions

For these reasons, the Soviet government must be ever on the alert lest its activities, its participation in conferences and treaties, be used to sow illusions in the mind of the masses as to the nature of such conferences, treaties, institutions and governments. Diplomacy may postpone wars, but it is the masses who suffer in and fight wars, and who turn imperial wars into civil wars. Soviet diplomacy has the double task, not an easy one, on the one hand, of postponing war and defending the Socialist Republic by diplomatic means, and on the other of preparing the mind of the masses, and most certainly of preventing the sowing of illusions among the masses, to the true nature of each of these diplomatic-political events. It is this second requirement, avoiding the sowing of illusions in the mind of the masses, that has been neglected in slovenly and shameful fashion in some of the statements recently issued by Soviet and above all by Communist International leaders. On the question of Soviet entrance into the League of Nations.

Stalin On The League of Nations

Thus we can quite agree with Stalin when he says with due caution:

"If the League is only the finest bump, somewhat to slow down the drive toward war and

(Continued on Page 5)

Portrait of America

By Diego Rivera
Text by Bert Wolfe

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THE GROUP AT WORK

by D. BENJAMIN

Big Meeting On "Expelled Lenin"

On May 23 two hundred workers attended an open meeting arranged by the Downtown Unit of the CPO in New York. Comrade Bert Wolfe spoke on "The Expelled Lenin." Many SP and CP members were present and a very lively discussion took place. The results of this meeting were 2 new members, \$4 worth of literature sold, and a collection of \$17 to help the CPO publish a new edition of Lenin's "Left Communism."

CPO Membership Meeting On SP Convention

One of the best attended membership meetings of the CPO was held on June 14, with Comrade Lovestone reporting on the "Detroit Convention of the SP." The great number of questions asked showed the keen interest of the membership in this topic. The appeal of the chairman for financial assistance for the work of the group resulted in \$300 in cash and pledges.

Down Town CPO Discusses United Front And Workers Age

The Downtown Unit CPO has arranged a series of educational meetings for its own membership.

At one meeting attended by over 90 members of the unit Comrade Benjamin spoke on the "United Front and Some Recent Lessons." The discussion was on a high level, with some 12 comrades participating. Special emphasis in the discussion was given to the CPO's participation in the May First Conference and Parade.

The next educational meeting was addressed by Comrade G. F. Miles editor of Workers Age, who reported on the Editorial Policy of Workers Age. Discussions on this topic are being arranged for other units.

ROBINS-GRAS DEFENSE COMM. IS ORGANIZED

In response to an appeal from Harold Robins and Andrea Gras, New York workers sent to Sing Sing on framed charges of felonious assault because of their activities in the recent New York hotel strike, the united front Robins-Gras Defense Committee has been organized to launch a fight for their appeal. The Committee has temporary headquarters at 22 E. 17 St., Room 731 and has issued a call to all workers to aid it in its fight.

Robins and Gras, when tried for beating-up a hotel straw-boss, proved alibis, were never satisfactorily identified, showed that the sole witness against them had contradicted his own testimony, and presented a number of fine character witnesses. The hotel bosses, however, were seeking victims and Judge Corrigan, a steady enemy of the workers, helped see that they got them in Robins and Gras. Notice of appeal has now been filed.

The organizations now making up the defense committee are the American Workers Party, Communist League, Communist Party Opposition, General Defense Committee, Il Martello Org. Comm. for a Revolutionary Workers Party, Poale Zion Left, Provisional Comm. for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, and Socialist Party. Invitations have been sent to the Amalgamated Food Workers Union, which led the hotel strike, A. F. of L. locals in the industry, and the I.L.D. to join up.

According to P. Fisher, temporary secretary, the workers must remain in jail several years unless a stiff fight is made. Legal retards necessitate immediate raising of \$400. The Committee is distributing collection lists and will soon take other steps. All trade unions and other workers organizations are asked to aid.

800 at Mass Meeting On SP Convention

About 800 workers attended a CPO mass meeting at Irving Plaza on June 19, at which Jay Lovestone spoke on the "SP Convention." A large number of SP members as well as some CP members were present. Lovestone evaluated the work of the Convention, analyzed the various tendencies (extreme Right, Militants, Revolutionary Policy Committee) and pointed out the tasks for the revolutionary-minded and left-going workers in the SP.

About 40 subscriptions to Workers Age were secured and a considerable amount of literature was sold.

Workers Age Sub Drive Makes Good Beginning

The N. Y. District has launched a special 3 months drive (June 15 to Aug. 15) for 500 subs. The first week's quota of 50 subs was more than realized, 70 subs having been secured.

Comrade Studnits holds first place with 13 subs. Comrades S. Yaker and S. Tiger are tied for second place with 8 each. Special mention must be made of our Amalgamated and Furrier comrades for the good showing they have made to date. In addition the furrier comrades have sold a minimum of 100 copies of the last 3 issues of Workers Age. Sarah Gross, Eva Schlachter, Rose Cohen and Celia Lichtman rank among the best agents for Workers Age.

Toledo and Minn. Strikes Bring Successful Joint Action

A successful joint action against the use of troops in the Toledo and Minneapolis strikes was held on May 31st. Over 800 workers participated in the mass meeting and heard representatives from the various participating organizations. Frank Palmer of the Federated Press presided over the meeting. The following are the organizations which participated in this mass meeting: Communist Party (Opposition), Socialist Party, I.W.W., American Workers Party, Communist League, Left Poale Zion and the Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

The Communist Party was in-

vited but refused to participate. The American Civil Liberties Union refused to be among the sponsoring organizations but finally sent Roger Baldwin to speak for it at the mass meeting. The Socialist Party, the participating stated that it would have withdrawn had the Communist Party joined.

Boston Holds Good Meetings

The CPO in Boston has conducted a series of successful educational meetings. On May 17 a meeting was held on the "Eight Convention of the CP" with 40 present. On June 7, I. Zimmerman spoke on the "Outlook of Trade Unionism." Over 100 were present at this meeting. For the near future a meeting is planned on the "SP Convention." The Boston comrades are also continuing to do good work for the International Relief Association.

Educational Work In Montreal

We are glad to correct an inaccuracy in our column of May 15. The following is the actual status of the educational work now being carried on by the Workers Educational Society in which CPO members are very active: Courses in "Marxism and Leninism," Mike Ruhay instructor, attendance 30. Course in contemporary world events, attendance 75. In addition a singing society has been organized and is making good headway.

(Continued on Page 7)

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WHERE DOES THE I. L. G. W. U. STAND?

We publish below an article by Comrade Herberg describing the recent convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and estimating its results from the viewpoint of the progressive tendency within the union. This will be followed by another article analyzing the great lessons of the convention in the light of the basic trade union line of the Communist Opposition.—EDITOR.

The last convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, held in Chicago towards the beginning of June, was one of the most important labor gatherings held in recent months in this country. Its significance is especially great from the point of view of the radical stream in the labor movement to whom this convention brought experiences worthy of the most careful consideration and analysis.

Tasks of the Convention

The I.L.G.W.U. came to this convention 200,000 strong, the third largest union in the American Federation of Labor, one of the biggest labor organizations in the world. When we consider that one local union today, the Italian Dressmakers Union Local 85 of New York, has almost as many members as the whole international had two years ago, that is, about 40,000, we must begin to appreciate the tremendous growth of the organization of women's garment workers since the late 1920s last summer. But the I.L.G.W.U. came to the convention with big problems, many of which we need not be surprised, centered around the basic question of NKA precisely because the NKA appeared in its most favorable light in the women's garment trades, precisely because the cloak and dress codes are certainly the best on record, was it necessary for the convention to avoid all one-sidedness and superficiality in viewing the NKA, to examine the NKA in a broad and realistic manner, to make clear the implications of the NKA in the coming period of labor struggle in the women's garment industry as well as in the country as a whole. Before the convention too stood the big task of giving a positive answer to the many industrial questions facing the workers, of reorganizing the structure and functioning of the union in the direction of greater democracy and effectiveness, of actively using the mounting influence of the International in the American Federation of Labor in the interests of greater progressivism and militancy.

Two Main Tendencies

Two definitely crystallized tendencies made themselves felt in various ways at the convention: at the extreme right, the old entrenched bureaucratic clique, which has neither learned nor forgotten anything in the last two years, and, at the left, the progressives, headed by Charles S. Zimmerman and embracing the big delegation of Dressmakers Union Local 22 of New York and quite a number of delegates from other locals. The three or four "Left Group" delegates (that is, those under the influence of the official Communist Party) played absolutely no role whatever at the convention, except to discredit their own ideas and, once in a while, to make themselves the butt of ridicule by the absurdity of their proposals and the lack of ordinary common sense in their methods. Nothing more need be said of them.

Between the conservative bureaucratic clique at one extreme and the progressives at the other were quite a variety of intermediate but vaguely defined elements, with whom it proved possible for the "progressives to cooperate at various points. But especially were there the so-called "new elements", delegates representing scores of thousands of recently organized women's garment workers and themselves frequently new to the labor movement. Their enthu-

siasm and loyalty, their spontaneous militancy made them very accessible to the appeal of the progressives, even if it did not always prove possible to translate their sympathy in more tangible form because of the organizational straight-jacket in which all their conservative "chiefs" attempted to keep them. But here too the last word has not yet been spoken. . . .

Against Fascism and Jim-Crowism

It must be plainly declared that the tone of the convention was not altogether wholesome nor was its spirit such as to make possible the most fruitful solution of the problems facing it. More than half of the sessions were devoted to the most indiscriminate speech-making, including far too many personages who had no business whatever to be at a labor gathering. The whole convention, moreover, was very nearly turned into an orgy of nauseating self-congratulation and sloppy and sentimental hero worship. And it was not simply natural jubilation spontaneously running over; the cunning hand of

by WILL HERBERG

"political" showmanship was far from invisible.

It was therefore doubly significant that the two great undercurrents helping to redeem the convention from the very start were the struggle against racial discrimination and Jim-Crowism and the mobilization against Fascism. It is not necessary to recount here the splendid efforts of the Local 22 delegation which resulted not only in having the whole convention officially boycott the hotel in which it began its sessions because of its Jim-Crow practices, not only in the adoption of one of the best resolutions against racial discrimination in the labor movement ever presented to a labor organization in this country, but also in letting loose a powerful and lasting demonstration in favor of racial equality and labor solidarity that will long be remembered by those who took part in it. The mobilization against Fascism too reached high levels and concluded in the adoption of a very good resolution

committing the I.L.G.W.U. to initiate and take part in various forms of anti-Fascist struggle, including the setting up of an anti-Fascist fighting fund of at least \$50,000 to aid the victims of Fascism, the active labor and political exiles and particularly the increasingly effective underground labor movement of Germany.

Trade Questions

On industrial questions the convention made a number of important decisions. The progressive resolutions in favor of the 30-hour week, for higher minimum scales and against the recent NRA order permitting home-work in certain cases, were adopted unanimously. Resolutions were also adopted instructing the general executive board to make a study of the effects of technical progress in the industry (the problem of "special machines") with a view to working out an effective policy.

An important dispute broke out on the question of week work. The progressives introduced a resolution, declaring for week-work as superior to piece work and in-

structing the G.E.B. to initiate a campaign to include the week work system in all collective agreements at the first possible opportunity. In opposition to this, the resolutions committee recommended a "compromise", coming out for week work in principle but urging that the choice of system of work in each particular case be left to the joint board or local involved. But most of the opponents of the Local 22 resolution, and these included Dubinsky, Heller and Nagler, took their stand for piece work as such. Of course, on vote the "compromise" carried but it was obvious enough that the progressive fight made a lasting impression.

The convention took important action in authorizing a series of general strikes and organization campaigns in virtually every trade and important market of the women's garment industry, including Porto Rico. A wave of sharp struggles may now be expected in the cotton goods industry, in the knitted underwear, white goods, underwear, and other trades and in a number of cloak and dress markets throughout the country. In this day and age, when so many union leaders regard it as their particular mission to suppress and evade real struggle of any sort, such action on the part of the I.L.G.W.U. is not without broad significance.

No Progress On Organization Questions

On "organizational" questions, that is, questions affecting the structure and functioning of the union and so-called "political" relations within it, the stand taken by the convention was, on the whole, a distinct step backward. The very important progressive resolution for the reorganization of the union along more industrial lines was referred to the G.E.B. for action, as was also the resolution for the legalization and freedom of groups and tendencies in the union. The demand for proportional representation at conventions and joint boards was flatly rejected along with the proposal that no organizer of the International proper, except president and secretary-treasurer, be eligible for the G.E.B. On the other hand, the official clique did put thru, against the sharp opposition of the progressives, constitutional changes providing that local elections be held every two years instead of annually as hitherto and granting the G.E.B. blanket powers to supervise local elections. It is not difficult to see the motives behind these acts which limit democracy and restrict the rights of the membership.

"Compromising" Local 1-Local 17 Issue

Of course, the old Local 1-Local 17 issue rose again at this convention altho in a new form. For years the maintenance of Local 17 as practically a dual local of cloak operators had been a festering sore in the New York cloakmakers union. The progressives and, in the past, the Local 1 administration, always stood for the immediate amalgamation of the two locals, the establishment of one local of cloak operators. But instead of approaching the question this way, the ruling powers at the convention brought in a proposal for the "voluntary amalgamation" of the two locals without even specifying the period in which this was to occur. Not even a perfunctory attempt was made to hide the essentially "political", that is, clique, motivation behind this thoroughly futile and meaningless plan. So far had the leadership of Local 1 forgotten its "progressive" pretensions, so far indeed had it forgotten its own pledges to the cloakmakers in New York, that it became an active partner in this piece of disgraceful jobbery. It was left to Zimmerman to make a militant fight for the traditional progressive position, curiously enough to the applause of more than one of the Local 1 delegates. As things stand now, the convention action has only thrown the Local 1-Local 17 issue into the

QUESTIONS and ANSWERS

We are beginning herewith a series of questions and answers dealing with the principles and tactics of the International Communist Opposition; the crisis in the Communist International; relations to Social-democracy; problems of trade union work; the United Front, etc.

These are of particular value at this time in view of the latest developments in the Socialist Party and the fact that the overwhelming majority of the membership of the Communist Party is new in the revolutionary movement.—Editor.

CHAPTER I

WHAT IS THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST OPPOSITION?

1. How do the policies of the Communist Opposition differ from the policies of the Communist International and its sections in the various countries?

The Communist Opposition and the Communist International do not differ in principles and aims but in tactics, i.e. over the means for realizing their common principles and aims. The application of the correct means for the realization of communist principles and aims alone constitutes the actual guarantee of loyalty to principles. And vice versa, false tactics, i.e., the constant application of incorrect means, inevitably leads to the abandonment of principles.

2. What are the basic principles and aims of Communism?

The basic principles of communism are the following:

a) The Dictatorship of the Proletariat as the means by which the bourgeois state machinery, having been overthrown by the successful armed insurrection of the working class, is to be smashed completely; the means by which the socialist economic order is gradually built up to supersede capitalism and to bring about the abolition of all classes.

b) The Dictatorship of the Proletariat assumes the form of a Soviet Republic. The aim of communism is the destruction of the chaotic capitalist economic order through the abolition of private ownership and the substitution thereof of a planned socialist economic order which will transform the means of production into social property. The fully developed socialist society will be a classless society. The state, i.e. the organized force of the ruling class, will have withered away.

c) The bourgeois state, in whatever form it may appear (monarchy, republic, or Fascist corporate state), is the dictatorship—the despotic rule of capital. The transition from the dictatorship of capital to the dictatorship of the working class, the Soviet Republic, cannot be a peaceful one. Building of the soviets through constitutionalism has been refuted by experience as an untenable contradiction. In order to establish its own dictatorship, the proletariat must first overthrow and smash the bourgeois state machine, that is, must destroy the ruling class' organized forces of suppression. This can be accomplished only by the use of force. The immediate struggle of the proletariat for the establishment and maintenance of its state power is, therefore, a bitter and brutal civil war. The establishment of the proletarian state can be accomplished in but one way—by the armed insurrection of the working class.

d) In the struggle for power, the working class relies on the international solidarity of the world proletariat and especially on the only existing proletarian state—the Soviet Union. The defense of the Soviet Union, as a proletarian state in which Socialism is being built, is the absolute duty of the working class in all countries. The defense of the Soviet Union is an indispensable element of the proletarian struggle for power.

e) In the struggle for power, as well as during the building of socialism, the proletariat needs the leadership of a communist party. The communist party is that part of the working class which possesses clear consciousness of the aims, principles and roads to the proletarian revolution and fights for their realization in an organized manner. The action of the communist party cannot replace the action of the working class. The mission of the communist party is to lead the proletariat to the social revolution as a class.

f) The organizational principle of the communist party is democratic centralism.

g) The communist movement of each individual country is subordinated to the international communist movement. The Communist International—the world organization of the communist party serves this purpose. Democratic centralism also constitutes the organizational principle of the Communist International.

3. Why did not the Communist Opposition, in the controversy over tactics, submit to the decisions of the leading bodies of the Communist Party and the Communist International?

a) Because the issues involved are over such tactical problems as will determine the very existence of the Communist Party.

b) Because these decisions signify a breach with the tactical line of Leninism.

c) Because these wrong decisions are not a result of democratic centralism, i.e. of free discussion by the party membership within the framework of communist methods, but are autocratic decisions of the leading bodies of the Communist Parties of the various countries of the Communist International.

4. What is the Communist Party (Opposition) as an Organization?

The CPO is not a new party. It is an organized communist tendency. The Communist Party (Opposition) is not a new party because it has no other principles and aims than those of communism, because it has no other purpose than the correct application of these principles and aims in the U.S.A. and in other countries.

5. What is the goal of the Communist Party (Opposition)?

a) The winning over of the members of the Communist Party and of other sections of the Comintern to the correct communist tactics; in other words the winning over of the party members and the members of the Communist International to these tactics.

b) At the same time, however, as long as the official Party and the Communist International are using false tactics, the Opposition systematically and energetically strives to give leadership to the struggle of the working class and thus to win followers within the working class as a whole, as well

(Continued on Page 7)

(Continued on Page 6)

Roosevelt's New Recovery Measures

Analyzing Some Recent Bills

by SAUL HELD

Washington, since the Blue Eagle squatted on the Capitol, presents itself for the befuddlement of the masses. Inwardly, however, the serious business of dictating governmental policies is skillfully executed by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. It must be amusing to these gentlemen to manipulate the antics of General Hugh Johnson—particularly his mock thunder of "cracking down"—and simultaneously issues orders to chief office-boy, President Roosevelt. Tragedy for millions flows from these dictations.

The Latest Wrinkles

But the show continues to turn more sour with the passing of the weeks. The snickers become louder as the much-vaunted recovery measures fail to conjure that elusive prosperity from out of chaos. So—"Quick! Watson, the needle!"—and two more "recovery measures" are injected into the economic system thru further subsidies to Big Business. This brings us to the latest wrinkles in the "New Deal": the Glass-Barkley Bill and the National Housing Act. And thereby hangs an interesting tale. It will illuminate not only the character of the Roosevelt Administration but the method of Big Business in its dictation of governmental policy. To get an unobstructed view we must side-step the Administration's liberal facade—Leo Wolman, Donald Richberg et al; forget the antics of Johnson and the ballyhoo of the publicity men.

Hatching Governmental Policy

As far back as September, 1933, and perhaps earlier, the Administration was planning to enact the two measures mentioned above. Undoubtedly the Administration was retaining these measures as trump cards. In "Nation's Busi-

ness," organ of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, H. Harriman, president of the organization, clamored for the very "recovery" measures that the Administration has just launched. Writing in the February issue, Mr. Harriman discovered that the road to recovery lies in the revival of the capital goods sector of industry, and proposed three measures, without further delay:

1. "In the rehabilitation of industrial plants to promote economy of operation and reduction of costs."

2. "In the modernization of railroad equipment, with resulting improvement in service and the reduction of costs of operation."

3. "In the elimination of slums and improvement of housing conditions."

The Glass-Barkley Bill

This was in February. Hard on the heels of the convention of the Chamber, early in May, where these measures were further propounded, the Administration with lightning speed made public "its" plans for recovery. What were they?

The Glass-Barkley Bill authorizing a total of 580 millions to be loaned to industry by the Federal Reserve Banks and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. This bill, it is declared, will "permit Federal Reserve Banks to loan in cases where going concerns cannot get accommodations from their banks." One day previous to the passage of this bill, May 14, Roosevelt submitted the National Housing Act to Congress for speedy approval.

The National Housing Act

This act would make available a total of \$300,000,000 to three federal corporations, to be set up, and

is ballyhooed to be capable of luring a billion and a half dollars in a national housing program—renovation and new construction. The bait which is held out in this luring of private capital is a limited insurance of building and loan associations (\$100,000,000) and a guarantee of \$200,000,000 for improvement loans, advancing credit as well as the insurance of mortgages. For both these measures it is alleged that they will stimulate the durable goods sector of industry and thus millions will be put back to work. The durable goods industries, comprising iron and steel, nonferrous metals, automobiles, and locomotives, ships, lumber, cement, coke, etc., normally employ over five million workers.

Will It Work?

Naturally the Durable Goods Industries Committee is jubilant over the bill. In this bill, which the Administration has attempted to camouflage with the "humanitarian" slush about its noble objective, "slum clearance," and durable goods powers recognize a long-awaited gift coming at a crucial moment. However, granting for the moment, full success in luring \$1,500,000,000 of private capital into construction, the vital question of whether this amount would be sufficient to set the wheels of industry going in pre-depression style still stands.

In a recent statement, Frank C. Walker, executive director of the National Emergency Council, presented the following table showing the extent of the decline in the construction industry during the crisis:

Former aggregate construction	\$11,000,000,000
Present aggregate construction	3,000,000,000
Former residential construction	3,000,000,000
Present residential construction	300,000,000

If the Housing Act is actually capable of sending a flow of credit to the tune of \$1,500,000,000 into construction, even then, the total of aggregate construction would still be far short of the pre-depression levels. It is obvious that of the 5 million workers dependant upon the entire durable goods sector only a small proportion would be returned to jobs. But this is not all. Due to new construction methods and materials the number will be still further reduced. Far from being a boon to small home-owners, or workers of the slums, it will shortly be seen as nothing more than a temporary spell of revivification for the durable industries.

No Union Rates Provided

It is apparent that mass purchasing power will not be raised to the "prosperity" levels. The Administration has taken care that this shall be the case beyond any shadow of a doubt. As the Journal of Commerce puts it (May 16):

"As far as labor is concerned prevailing opinion is that the Government will exempt this work from the rule that all Government work must be done at union rates. This would introduce normal local wages about 40 per cent below nominal union wage scales and could easily be justified, it is said, since the largest part of the expenditure involved is to come from private sources in any case." (My emphasis—SH)

A Gift To Business

The Glass-Barkley Bill authorizing loans totaling 580 millions to industry is another gift to Business. While it is being proclaimed as a life-saver for small business, we doubt whether the little fellows will actually get the major portion of it. Loans are to be granted only to "going concerns." This alone would bar most of these boys from reaching for the sugar. On the other hand, this sum may be thrown to small business to stifle their walls of protest against their mistreatment under the Blue Eagle. Still, the N.R.A. sheds no tears over their fate and may continue to turn a deaf ear to the wailing of the cockroaches. Small business, with its back to the wall under the N.R.A., has been forced to undertake rationalization ventures in their plants whenever possible, to maintain life. With competition ever keener it will demand more relief from Washington. The sum of 580 million, however, is of dwarfish size compared to normal sums for modernization and repair. How then, can it be expected of this bill to be an effective instrument of recovery!

Item two in Mr. Harriman's program has received attention from the administration (\$153,000,000) with further aid forthcoming. The Pennsylvania Railroad is getting electrification and modernization projects under way, which will

cost \$77,000,000. It is being financed by the PWA and was started four months ago. Lady Bountiful has emptied her horn of plenty many times to the roads, and further gifts are in the offing.

Evaluating these measures from the standpoint of being agencies for recovery, we are justified in believing that all they can possibly accomplish is another boomlet of the nature experienced some months ago. These measures alone cannot effect the millennium for even a temporary spell, for the following reasons: 1.) inadequate sums; 2.) fewer men to be returned to work; 3.) low wage levels; and 4.) the fact that some time may intervene before these measures begin to affect the economic arteries. From a relatively long-range viewpoint there is economic dynamite galore in these measures.

Technical Progress

Industry has been placed on more and more efficient levels during the crisis. NRA has accelerated this process. New machinery, regrouping of machinery, time studies of men and machines, re-equipment of offices—all the factors for raising productive capacity have forged ahead. Steel plants, textile mills, machine shops, shoe factories, etc., have all reached higher productive levels, largely because of labor-saving devices, (American Machinist Dec. 1932). Some examples: Chrysler, General Motors, Great Northern, Goodyear, New Haven R.R., and Remington Rand. Further, they "could resume 1929 production without increasing their pay-rolls to 1929 proportion." In other words production is capable of reaching pre-depression quantity with depression employee figures.

Using Labor Bureau data, Stuart Chase found in 1933, "that not more than 71 men, working not more than 43 hours a week, can now produce as much manufactured goods as 100 men, working 50 hours a week, did in the period from 1923 to 1925." The breadlines have grown constantly longer during this crisis, and now the NRA is speeding up the process. What objective are the money-lords attempting to realize?

Harriman Tell Us

Let Mr. Harriman tell you: "On many of our industrial plants the dust of obsolescence has begun to gather. Industry, to keep up with the march of progress and keep production costs down to practicable minimums, must discard old machines and install new machines and processes which science and invention have devised. The challenge of the depression must be met by greater, not by less, efficiency."

Under capitalism what can this spell but longer breadlines of tomorrow. This is what we mean when we say the economic "recovery measures" (particularly the ones we have examined) are sowing the seeds of greater economic catastrophe of tomorrow. Even the mouthpieces of reaction survey the near future without any overwhelming joy. The Wall Street Journal (May 16) declares: "What may be expected in the way of unemployment relief for the coming winter is an effort similar to C.W.A. . . ." King Hunger will reap still greater harvests as the Rooseveltian "smile" lingers on.

How Not to Work in the Unions

by JACK STEELE

The following are excerpts from an article sent to the Daily Worker in the course of the pre-convention discussion in the CP. The writer has since been expelled from the CP and has affiliated with the Communist Party (Opposition). —Editor.

CHICAGO, Ill.

In this article I wish to discuss some of the questions raised in my unit in the discussion on our work in the trade unions. Some of the sharp questions were: Why did we have only 20 delegates out of 1600 at the last UMW convention, when it is undoubtedly true that the workers in the UMW are against the reactionary policies of their leaders, as is shown by the militant strikes in the face of the treachery of the Lewis machine? Why didn't the miners join the National Miners' Union in Southern Illinois, when they revolted against the Lewis misleaders, but instead organized a new union, the Progressive Miners of America, which was captured by a reactionary leadership just as bad as Lewis? Why did the workers in the needle trade industry flock to the ILGWU and the Amalgamated, while our NTWIU did not gain in membership, but in many sections was actually liquidated?

Reasons For Isolation

In my opinion, one of the most important reasons for the decline of our influence in the trade unions has been our dual unionist policy which led to our relative isolation from the masses of organized workers. Despite all resolutions adopted at ECCI, CC, and DC plenums and section conferences that we must intensify our work in the AFL, our influence continued to decline, because our members could not have two faces. One, a TUUL face, which meant a dual union opposed to the existing reformist union, its purpose being to destroy the old unions by winning away their membership, the other face, that of an opposition in the reformist union, with

the purpose of driving out the reactionaries from leadership and thereby strengthening that union as a weapon of militant class struggle.

The workers simply accepted the accusations of the reactionaries against us, that we were not interested in building the unions, but wanted to disrupt them in order to build the dual unions, the revolutionary, industrial unions. We, therefore, failed in our attempts to build strong oppositions within the reformist unions. The workers refused to rally to us in our fight against the reactionary leadership, because they did not trust us, because they thought that we were trying to lead them out of their unions, which had taken them years to build, into newly created unions, which did not possess their sympathy or following.

Some Telling Facts

A few facts will help to illustrate the correctness of the above contentions. Let us take the instance of the miners. Early in 1928, before we organized the NMU, the party was the main driving force in the organization and calling of the Save the Union Committee National Conference, held in Pittsburgh on April 1st 1928. This conference was attended by 1,128 delegates from every district in the country. The conference decided to take over the leadership of the Bituminous Strike taking place at that time, to organize the unorganized, to oust the Lewis machine and to take over the union. Had we followed up this policy of being the best fighters against the capitalists in their efforts to smash the mass miners union, and of being the champions of unity, we might have realized the objectives and decisions of the conference. Instead, we organized the NMU, which although it started out with great hopes of becoming the mass miners' union, although it pursued a militant and working class policy, has not been able to win over

the masses from the UMW. Today it hardly exists. The comrades who remained in the UMW could not effectively fight the Lewis machine, since the workers associated them with the dual unionists, the members of the NMU who were fighting the UMW.

To remedy the above situation it is insufficient to say that "we received a setback in the mining industry as regards building the TUUL union, so that our main work in this industry takes on for the moment mostly the form of a revolutionary opposition." (My emphasis—J. S.). Such policy and orientation means that after we build up a somewhat strong opposition movement within the UMW, we will try to draw our followers into the NMU. This will lead us into the same position we are in now. As long as the NMU continues even a nominal existence, this will make our work in the UMW extremely difficult and most probably devoid of results, as our experience of the last 5 years shows.

The Garment Industry

Another instance to show that our dual unionist policy has not helped us in gaining influence over large masses of organized workers, but hampered our work and relatively isolated us from them. In the needle trades industry, with the exception of the furrier's trade, the NTWIU has not been successful in rallying the needle workers and has made effective work on the part of the revolutionary oppositions within the ILGWU and the Amalgamated almost impossible. How can we rally the rank and file to struggle with us for the reinstatement of the expelled administration of local 9, ILGWU, when we are urging these very workers to join another union, the NTWIU?

T.U.U.L. Or A. F. of L.

But the problem arises: What are we to do with the organiza-

tions under our leadership in fields where no mass union exists. Shall we lead them into the AFL, the TUUL, or keep them as independent unions if they will not accept the TUUL? Our policy in the period before 1929 was to bring them into the AFL. An example of the above is the Passaic strike, where after a strike lasting 13 months, an organization of about 700 members fully under Communist and left wing leadership was affiliated to the AFL. Since 1929 our policy has been to affiliate such an organization with the TUUL if the workers would accept such a procedure; if they would not accept, we kept the organization independent. We never even considered affiliation with the AFL, because our orientation was to strengthen the TUUL and thereby weaken the AFL. Such an affiliation would of course strengthen

the AFL.

The Way To Strengthen The Opposition

The question, however, presents itself, would such an affiliation, while strengthening the AFL as an organization, also strengthen the bureaucracy within the AFL? Affiliation of workers led by revolutionists with the AFL would certainly strengthen the revolutionary opposition within the AFL and would thereby weaken the reactionary leadership.

Must Drop Dual Unionism

We must definitely give up our dual unionist tactic. We must resolutely develop a strong revolutionary opposition by becoming the champions of unity, by building and strengthening the existing individual unions and the entire

Soviet Russia and the League of Nations

Its Problems of Foreign Diplomacy

by BERTRAM D. WOLFE

(Continued from Page 1)
help peace, then we are not against the League. In that event I would not say we would support the League. I would say that if historical events were such that the League became a brake upon or an obstacle to war, it is not excluded that we should support the League despite its colossal deficiencies." (From his interview on the League of Nations, published in the New York Times, December 28, 1933.)

This statement should have been followed up by a declaration by the Communist International emphasizing the "colossal deficiencies," as Stalin puts it, of the League. This declaration should have warned the masses that the League is a maneuvering ground of capitalist diplomacy, a stage on which clashing imperialist policies find as yet peaceful expression, an instrument, at times actual, and at all times potential, for anti-Soviet and anti-colonial policies, and a puppet show for the mystification of the masses.

But the Communist International did not follow up with such a declaration. On the contrary, the International is today in so unhealthy a state that when Stalin sneezes, the next day the International publishes a blue print of it magnified a thousand diameters. If Stalin's statement had a few crudities of expression, the follow-up "explanations" of Radek for the benefit of the Communist press of the world, magnified the slight crudities into a monstrous distortion that has nothing in common with Marx'sm except the abuse of Marxian terminology.

Radek's Dialectics

Radek's article, entitled "Dialectics, History and the League of Nations" was cabled to all party papers throughout the world. It is thus not the formal statement of the Soviet government entering in-

to diplomatic relations and requiring in external a certain adherence to diplomatic usages and forms. No, it is the "explanation" by the Communist parties to the toiling masses of all lands. It purports to enlighten the masses as to the League or Nations and to fortify them against illusions and deception.

The Daily Worker for June 1, 1934 publishes the Radek story as cabled from Moscow without comment of its own. It is headed: "Radek writes on history of League Nations; shows how sharpening capitalist conflicts changes outlook; racism drops out and takes leading role in war preparations."

League No Longer Menaces U.S.S.R.—Radek

According to Radek:

1. The League of Nations, thanks to the withdrawal of Germany and Japan has proved "incapable of becoming the political expression of the 'organized' capitalist world to adjust its interests and direct its expansion against the U.S.S.R."

A strange sort of "dialectics" that does not take into account the extremely unstable and fluid nature of imperialist alliances and antagonisms. Divided today, they may be united tomorrow against the Soviet Union. Against this danger it is the chief duty of a Communist analysis to warn.

"Imperialist Expansionists Gone"

2. "What does the League represent now?" asks Radek, and answers: "Two powers have withdrawn, powers which were the chief tendencies of imperialist expansion in the present historical stage . . . Firstly, the small powers remained in the League. They are aware that in the case of a

fresh imperialist war they fall its first victim." (This "discovery" of Radek's will inevitably sow illusions in the minds of the masses of these "small" nations, and conceals the fact that under imperialism the governments of "small" nations are in general but the puppets of the imperialist policies of the larger ones.—B.D.W.)

The French "Peace" Policy

"France remained in the League," continues Radek, "and the countries allied with her, against which are directed the aggressive policy of fascist Germany and countries siding with the latter. France naturally defends the interests of French capitalism . . . But defense of these positions demands defense of peace, because France can hardly hope that in case of war all powers that helped her defend her positions during the World War would be on her side." (Could illusions of a bourgeois liberal journalist based upon the extremely unstable relation of forces at the moment go any further? The superficial and temporary must of course be taken into account, but not so as to obscure for a moment the basic and long-run tendency.—B.D.W.)

Great Britain And Italy Bide Their Time
"Finally," continues Radek, "Great Britain and Italy remained in the League. These countries are preparing to participate in the fight for the re-division of the world, believe that the time is not yet ripe to come over to the side of the powers preparing a fresh

world slaughter . . .

"The danger of the organization of war against the U.S.S.R. emanates now not from the League of Nations, but from its opponents and the British die-hards." (Of course, there are no "die-hards" in France, no party in favor of switching into an alliance with fascist Germany against the Soviet Union, on the basis of giving Germany the Polish corridor and Poland a slice of the Ukraine!)

The League "An Instrument For Peace"

But the culminating piece of vulgarity and non-Marxist thought and language is Radek's conclusion:

"Those powers remained in the League, who are interested in the maintenance of peace." What a sentence to appear in every official Communist paper in the world! What a conclusion to give to the French, British and American workers! Here the temporary and superficial has triumphed completely over the basic and fundamental and leaves the Communist press as a shameful sower of bourgeois pacifist illusions as to the League of Nations and as to all its component parts, as to all armed-to-the-teeth capitalist lands except only Germany and Japan. It needs only the finishing touch of the Daily Workers headline writer who declares:

"Fascism drops out and takes the leading role in war preparations." Apparently, Italy is no longer a fascist land!

Party Members Must Demand Correction!

It is high time that the Party membership demand that the Daily

Worker correct this drivel, that Radek be repudiated, and that the Communist International speak clearly and openly on the perfectly valid reasons for the Soviet Union's rapprochement to the League of Nations, on the temporary nature and extreme instability of those reasons, and the fundamental dangers inherent in the League of Nations and the imperialist policies that are pursued by its remaining members. Stalin's remark on the "finest bump" was valid. But Radek has elevated the bump into a veritable Himalaya of peace. It is far more serious than Browder's error on Japan a few years ago, which the International corrected under our pressure. It is more dangerous, for Radek is not Browder, and this time it is the entire International that is in danger of sliding down the path of pacifist illusion and unconscious apology for the imperialist designs of certain great powers.

New Literature On Hand

The Literature Department of the CPO has been very busy of late. During the last month 3 new publications have appeared. "What Next For American Labor," a 5c pamphlet by Jay Lovestone. "The Road To Communism," the quarterly theoretical organ of the International Communist Opposition. Price 35c. "Where We Stand," Vol. 1, including the platform and other programmatic material of the I. C. O. This sells for 25c.

In addition the following publications are under preparation: "The Roosevelt Program" by Jay Lovestone; "The Revolt in Austria" by Will Herberg; "Where We Stand" Vol. 2 in 2 parts. There is now on the press a CPO edition of "Left Communism" by Lenin.

Socialist Red Baiting

by GEORGE F. MILES

Labor Education in Boston

A conference on workers education was held on May 26th at the Hotel Bradford, Boston, Mass., where the following trade unions were present: Central Labor Union, the State Federation, District Council of the Building Trades, District Joint Council and locals of the United Shoe and Leather Workers Union, Steel and Metal Workers, Furriers Union, Cooks and Waiters Union, Stone Cutters, Machinists Unions, and others.

Individuals were present from the Provisional Committee, of which Mr. William Seligman was chairman: Professor Sheldon, Professor Sheffield, Mrs. Wm. Z. Ripley, Mrs. Cheeks, Miss Lodge, and several other educators. Miss Halo B. Chadwick of the Affiliated Schools for workers was also present.

The afternoon session talks were given by leaders in the trade union movement, who deplored the lack of workers educational facilities and spoke of the necessity of establishing a workers educational center in Boston.

At the evening session, the pro-

AFL. We must convince the members of the TUUL and independent unions that their place is in the organizations where the great mass of organized workers are found. They must be with these workers and win them for our revolutionary policies, since we cannot win them by calling upon them to join our TUUL unions. We must organize all the sincere progressive elements within the reformist unions and lead them towards victory through the defeat of the Greens, the Wolls, the Lewises, and the rest of the reactionary misleaders.

Only through such tactics can we revolutionize the masses so that they will reject from their midst all labor fakers and accept the revolutionary program and aims of our party.

gram committee reported. During a discussion various trade union delegates reported that new members were being organized into the trade unions during the past year and that there was a lack of any educational program to bring these members up to a trade union consciousness, particularly at this time when trade unions are being confronted with National and Regional Boards and various other governmental agencies. It was pointed out that an extensive program is necessary to develop new leadership in the unions. The program proposed by the committee, together with the Provisional Committee was accepted by the Conference.

Since the Conference, the Executive Committee has held one meeting. Brother McClaren, one of the progressive trade unionists of Boston was elected chairman, and Miss Alice Dodge was elected secretary. Three sub-committees were elected to carry on the work. A finance committee, consisting of five members, of which Professor Sheldon is chairman. A program committee of five members, of which Mr. Sam Sandberg is chairman. A committee on organization of five, of which Mr. William Seligman is chairman.

The organization committee has started its drive to penetrate all local unions and Joint Councils so as to bring them into this movement. It is important for all progressive trade unionists to prepare this work so that together we may develop a more militant progressive trade union movement in Greater Boston, in the face of the various governmental obstacles, like compulsory arbitration and other schemes that tend to drain the life blood of our trade union movement.

Suggested courses to be given include: Trade Union Problems; Current Events; History of the Labor Movement; American Government and Politics; Social Science; etc.

What with the sharpening economic struggles in the country; the wave of bitterly fought strikes which is sweeping the country; the recent orgy of murders by the uniformed strike breakers of capitalism—the police and the National Guard, the ruling class is becoming much perturbed about the menace of Communism.

In this situation a veritable galaxy of paid scribes of capitalism have been rushed into the front columns of the bourgeois press, from which safe position they shoot their poison arrows of hate, sometimes of ridicule, at Communism.

Raymond Moley, the astute editor of Vincent Astor's "Today," goes the rest of the bourgeois press one better. From the backwash of the radical movement he has fished out a former socialist whose task it is, so to say, to give state's evidence against Communism. This gentleman who spreads himself upon the most prominent columns of "Today," is none other than the Justice of the Peace of the flourishing township of Radburn, N. J.—His Honor, McAlister Coleman.

Yes sir, the same Mac who was so often seen tottering around Union Square and the Rand School. The same who was an honored member of the S.P. and a feature writer of the New Leader. The same who became a "Militant" and issued fiery blasts against the reformists in his party. Also, we must not forget, the same who, when fired out from the New Leader, paraded in front of the Rand School bearing a sign upon which was inscribed very uncomplicated remarks about the S.P. and the New Leader. The latter act, very unbecoming a Justice of the Peace, indicating that he was not immune from aping the Communist "tactic." (We must guard against using the plural of this word for fear of arousing the ire of the Justice of the Peace.)

With the calm and judicial demeanor befitting his office Mac reviews the growth of "violence" in the labor struggles of the recent period and pronounces the verdict

that in all cases it has been the Communists who have provoked this violence. We take exception to "His Honor's" decision. He has not proved the point. He has, however, proved two other points. First that probably being very busy with marrying eloping couples or fining poor saps who exceed the speed limit, he is in deep ignorance of developments in the labor movement. Second, that his socialist veneer was very thin indeed and in a comparatively few months this was worn out exposing a—Justice of the Peace.

There is insufficient space to expose all the stupidities in Coleman's article. A few will suffice. The hotel strike in New York was conducted not by the Amalgamated Food Workers of the World but by the Amalgamated Food Workers Union from which the Communist Party members had split away a long time ago. The Communist Party attacked the strike during the whole period of its duration. Coleman claims it was a strike conducted by the Communist Party members.

Coleman mentions the shoe workers' strike in Lynn, Mass. and the silk strikes of New Jersey as other examples of Communist inspired "rowdiness." He shows his complete ignorance again. The strike in Lynn, where, it is true, the workers did not handle the imported scabs with kid gloves, was conducted by the National Shoe Workers Association, now merged into the United Shoe and Leather Workers Union. The National in Lynn was a conservative union and not in the least controlled or influenced by CP members. As a matter of fact CP committees, which tried to enter the strike, were violently ejected.

In the case of New Jersey both the weavers and the silk dyers were enrolled in the United Textile Workers, an A. F. of L. affiliate. The CP, thru its National Textile Workers Union had practically no influence in the strike. What attacks were made repression and murder of workers.

upon the strikers, were directed against the U.T.W. workers and resulted from police interference with picket lines.

It is clear that McAlister Coleman looks upon such clashes thru "law and order" eyes. He almost moves us to tears when he describes how poor and innocent policemen are framed up by these calculating Communists. Just listen to him:

"A woman shrieks, rolls over on the pavement, crying, 'He kicked me,' and pointing at an amazed young policeman some distance away. Other women, young and old, and a few youths surround the officer. He waves his club. Someone in the crowd hits him. In a moment he's the center of a yelling mass."

In times like these when workers, fighting with their backs to the wall for the preservation of unionism, are being shot down and murdered (Toledo, San Francisco, Minneapolis, Birmingham and the Gulf Coast) the anti-labor character of such articles becomes especially clear.

Now listen to a conservative trade unionist of Toledo, Ohio. Speaking is Mr. Quinlivan, former secretary of the Central Labor Union, now Lucas County Commissioner:

"Never in my twenty-five years of activity with union labor have I seen the men aroused to their present pitch. A Communist may throw the first stone, but labor men whom I used to consider conservatives now are ready to do almost anything, including die." (N. Y. Sun, May 26, 1934.)

Here you see the difference between a conservative trade unionist who understands the reaction of the mass of trade unionists today and a sour and cynical socialist who has turned his back upon the labor movement and becomes the apologist for terroristic repression and murder of workers.

ESTIMATING AUSTRIA'S REVOLUTION

Article III

It would be futile to attempt to describe the heroism of the Austrian workers in their desperate four-day struggle against the much more numerous and better-equipped forces of the Heimwehr. We can only bow our heads in reverence and in admiration. Nor must we omit to record that, once the battle was begun, the leaders of the Social-democracy, whatever had been their uncertainty and hesitancy before, took their places in the front lines, if indeed they were not to be found in the dungeons of Dollfuss. It was not their personal devotion to the cause of labor that was wanting; it was their Marxist clarity and firmness of revolutionary principle that were missing.

Workers Ranks Not Divided

In Austria the leadership of the Social-democracy among the workers went practically unchallenged. The labor movement was not split into a Socialist and Communist section whose mutual struggles could paralyze the fighting power of the proletariat. Labor was thoroughly united under the banner of Social-democracy yet there is considerable evidence (see the report in the Deutsche Freiheit of February 25, 1934) that only an insignificant fraction of the Social-democratic workers, less than half of the Schutzbund even, came out on the streets to fight the last-ditch battle against Fascism. The demoralization bred by long years of hesitation, compromise and surrender, had sapped the political vitality of the Social-democratic masses and had left them passive in the face of the awful emergency. Vienna only underscores the lesson of Germany with its divided labor movement: The vitally necessary, the unity of the working class is not in itself sufficient for victory. Only unity on Communist principles can lead to victory. This is the lesson of Russia in November 1917. Unity on Social-democratic principles can lead only to defeat and disaster. This is the lesson of Austria in February 1934!

Could the insurrection have succeeded? The economic and social conditions in Austria were such as to make a proletarian revolution both necessary and possible. The working class was thoroughly organized in its party, trade unions and other branches of the movement. Yet the vitally necessary "subjective" factor was lacking—revolutionary training and energy among the broad masses and revolutionary clarity and firmness of principle among the leaders. The many years of "democratic Socialism" had taken their toll!

Bankruptcy Of Social-Democracy

The four-day armed struggle of the Austrian workers against the hordes of Heimwehr Fascism was almost exclusively a Social-democratic action. Practically all who fought and died in those great days were Social-democrats and their leaders, political and military, were all prominent Social-democratic officials. The official Communist Party of Austria was no factor at all in the situation, while the official Communist press all over the world could find nothing better to do than to indulge in an orgy of shameless misrepresentation and slander.

Yet, paradoxically enough, the Austrian events con-

by Will Herberg

stitute the most striking demonstration of the utter bankruptcy of the traditional viewpoint of Social-democracy and a most convincing confirmation of the basic principles of Communism.

In their fundamental aspect, the Austrian events went far beyond the immediate struggle against Fascism. For four days there was revolution in Austria—civil war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie! It is precisely the revolutionary character of their own acts that caused such consternation among Social-democratic spokesmen. So ingrained had their reformism become that it led them to the point of repudiating the revolutionary character of their own deeds.

Austro-Marxism Crushed

For the Social-democrats, the Austrian Socialists included, have always championed in their theory and in their propaganda, the well-known standpoint that in modern democratic society the political class struggle is to be conducted along "civilized and democratic" lines, largely thru the medium of the democratic institutions which provide the road to "peaceful revolution." The Linz program of the Austrian Social-democracy, adopted in 1926, formulated this conception in classical fashion: "In the democratic republic, which guarantees every citizen full freedom to agitate for his viewpoint and places the power of the state in the hands of those able to win the majority of the people for their ideas, we aim to win power in the state thru peaceful, constitutional means, thru the ballot, thru winning the majority of the people for our ideas." How completely has this conception been annihilated by the Austrian events! In the Austrian republic, the supreme virtues of which were so touchingly described by Bauer in 1923, power has come into the hands of a reactionary gang without a majority in the democratic institutions of state, with only a minority of the people behind it, but with decisive military power at its command. And the party with the largest representation in the democratic institutions of the state, the party representing the vast majority of the Viennese proletariat, is outlawed and hunted like a wild beast, not because it didn't have enough votes but because it could not muster enough mass force at the decisive moment. What decides? Votes in parliament or the real relation of class forces outside of the talk-shops?

And in truth was there ever a more striking confirmation of the revolutionary Marxist, i.e., Communist thesis that, in existing society, the class struggle continues to rage in more or less concealed form until it bursts out into open civil war, into violent revolution? Was there ever more striking confirmation of the Communist contention that, as class relations grow strained, as the political crisis grows acute, parliamentary democratic institutions tend rapidly to fall into complete insignificance, if they are not contemptuously brushed aside altogether, so that it is the sheerest folly for the proletariat to rely upon them for the seizure of governmental power?

Democracy or Dictatorship

Suppose the Austrian revolt had triumphed militarily and had avoided defeat at the hands of foreign intervention? What next? Would the Austrian Social-democracy have permitted the capitalist class to remain in possession of the means of production? Would it have restored the constitutional forms of parliamentary democracy on the basis, perhaps, of a coalition government with the "constitutional" wing of the Christian Socials, Dollfuss's discarded party? In other words the question is placed: Bourgeois democracy or proletarian dictatorship?

To attempt to restore parliamentary democracy after it has been crushed in the vise of contending class forces, means to restore the political base of operations of the bourgeoisie, to open the way for the counter-revolution, to reestablish the very system within which the forces of Fascism arose and grew strong.

"Pure Democracy"—In Disgrace

That the fresh blooms of "pure democracy" have grown somewhat stale and withered in the poisonous atmosphere of Fascism, appears clearly enough from the new Prague program of the German Social-democracy in which a "virtual dictatorship" is spoken of to replace Fascism. Apparently even the German leaders, with their ear to the ground to catch the turn of mood among the workers at home, are beginning to lose their enthusiasm for the moth-eaten heirlooms of Social-democracy?

With Germany and Austria before him, who can today champion parliamentary democracy as the governmental form of the workers state, who can today challenge the utter validity of the Marxist doctrine of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat as the political form of the transition period from capitalism to communism?

The practical refutation of reformist Socialism contained in the Austrian events extends beyond these questions of fundamental principle to the closely associated questions of policy and tactics. The whole philosophy of reliance upon the "non-Fascist" bourgeoisie, the whole doctrine of the "lesser evil," the whole conception that strangles political struggle by limiting it to the halls of parliament, now stands completely discredited in the light of what has happened in Germany and Austria. The basic principles of reformist Socialism have again been tested and have again been found wanting!

And Austro-Marxism? For years the leaders of Austrian Social-democracy have been assiduously advertising the special virtues of their brand of Marxism—real, genuine revolutionary Marxism, we are assured, happily avoiding the excesses of opportunistic Social-democracy, on the one hand, and extremist Communism, on the other! But how has Austro-Marxism stood the crisis? Has it not exposed itself as the fatal art of finding "Marxist" reasons for vacillation, self-paralysis and defeatism? In no fundamental respect do the principles and policies of Austro-Marxism differ from those of German Social-democracy, so thoroughly discredited today!

The ILGWU Convention

(Continued from Page 3)
arena of "political" manipulation, which certainly bodes no good for the cloakmakers.

Role In The A. F. of L.

The progressives scored their biggest success in committing the International to an active and forward-looking program in the A. F. of L. Nineteen resolutions were introduced by Local 22, substantially demanding a complete change of front of the A. F. of L. on basic industrial and organizational questions and instructing the ILGWU delegates to the A. F. of L. convention to put up an active fight for these proposals. Among these resolutions were declarations for the reorganization of the American trade union movement along industrial unionist lines, for the enlargement of the executive council of the A. F. of L. for the organization of the basic industries, for the struggle against company unionism, for a Labor party, for the national organization of the jobless under A. F. of L. auspices, against racial discrimination in the labor movement, against racketeering in the labor movement, for free immigration, against war and the preparations for war, against the menace of Fascism. Eighteen of these nineteen resolutions were adopted by the convention! It seems to me that this action taken by the convention is of the very greatest importance and, if followed up, will make the international a powerful influence for pro-

gressivism within the general American labor movement.

Unanimously the convention came out in favor of the amalgamation of all needle trades organizations into one powerful union, requesting also the establishment of a needle trades department in the A. F. of L. The convention too endorsed the progressive proposal calling the upon A. F. of L. to join the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam International) but it rejected that section of the resolution urging that the Russian unions be also invited to join the I.F.T.U., thus really achieving one united world trade union federation.

Sharp Discussion On NRA

The really central issue to come before the convention was the question of the NRA. It was primarily a question of basic estimation rather than of immediate practice, for unquestionably the International had made effective use of its opportunities in the early days of the NRA. The official viewpoint of the International administration was very ill defined, varying all the way from the fairly critical standpoint embodied in the G.E.B. report to the grossest form of NRA ballyhoo in the true Hillman style as represented in Dubinsky's reply to Zimmerman. As against this whole attitude, the progressive presented, in the declaration of Comrade Zimmerman for the minority of the officers report committee, a thoroly consist-

ent proletarian standpoint on the NRA. The full statement of Comrade Zimmerman was published in the last issue of The Workers Age; in its main outlines it may be summarized as follows: 1. The NRA has failed as a recovery measure, neither measurably increasing buying power nor substantially reducing unemployment nor seriously improving business. 2. Under the protection of the NRA, there have matured a number of very serious dangers to the labor movement, including the startling growth of company unionism, the tendency towards government control of unions, etc. 3. Under the NRA, labor can get only what it is ready and willing to fight for. Unions must therefore not rely on the NRA but only on their own militancy and organized might. 4. Labor must deal with the code authorities and NRA bodies as essentially employer bodies, treating with them strictly along class struggle lines.

It is not hard to see that the progressive stand taken on the question of the NRA is of far-reaching significance. Already has this viewpoint won national recognition in the labor movement as the authoritative attitude of the class conscious, constructively radical wing of labor. On the very day that Comrade Zimmerman placed the working class position on the NRA before the convention, the turn of events in the steel situation, which drove the district leaders of the Amalgamated Association to voice bitter criticism of the NRA as the "National Run-Around", confirmed this attitude in the most striking manner. And

there is not the slightest doubt that coming developments in the labor movement will drive our basic class struggle position home into the minds of American labor!

Real Convention Begins

In the last three or four days of the convention, the "real" convention took place, that is, the buzzing and bargaining and intriguing in the lobbies and hotel rooms, all with an eye to the coming elections of officers and the G.E.B. In this whole business, the progressives adhered firmly to the following guiding principles: 1. To maintain the strict independence of the progressive tendency in all convention "politics" and caucusing; and 2. to fight for an increase of the dressmakers representation in the leadership of the union, not only because the new weight of the dressmakers in the International clearly justified such increased representation but also because, under present conditions, increased dressmakers representation meant a shift towards progressivism. The efforts to increase substantially the dressmakers representation in the G.E.B. and, especially, to obtain adequate representation for Local 22, were not successful altho it did prove possible to elect Zimmerman as vice-president (member of the G.E.B.) and Nathan Margolies as one of the delegates to the 1935 convention of the A. F. of L.

Role of Local 22 Delegation

The independent position and outstanding role of the progressives, and especially of the Local 22 delegation, were strikingly ob-

vious thruout the whole convention, at every stage or the proceedings, on every issue. There is not the slightest doubt that the progressive movement emerged from the Chicago convention much strengthened in prestige, influence and even organization.

This is very far indeed from implying that the progressives carried every thing before them in Chicago. From many angles it is true enough that the convention registered considerable progress for the International, especially in the stand it took on the general questions facing the labor movement. But it is at least equally clear that, in some very important respects, especially in those connected with the inner life of the union, the convention took some serious backward steps. On the whole the Chicago convention registered no deep change in the International, neither in its basic policies nor in the relation of forces within it. The fundamental tasks of the progressive movement remain essentially the same—to drive ahead for a consistent class struggle policy and practice, to further the democratization of the structure and life of the union, to wipe out the entrenched forces of reaction in the organization, to bring the union to utilize its influential position in the A. F. of L. in the direction of progressivism. Indeed, the tasks of the progressive movement have become even greater and more extensive with the increased responsibilities and problems of the union as a whole and especially with the new possibilities the progressive movement has acquired for effective action.

The Lesson of "Stevedore"

by NOEL CHAMBERS

As part of the work of education which it has undertaken, the Harlem New Workers School on May 29th got fifty of its students and friends out in a theatre party to see the Theatre Union's latest play, *Stevedore*. The play excited the interest it deserves and it is hoped that the group interpreted its significance and extracted the spirit of its teaching.

Stevedore needs no boosting. It can stand on its own legs. We have the verdict of much competent opinion that it is a remarkable play. This therefore is not the place for an analysis of its artistic merits. For our purpose, it would be much more profitable to go into a consideration of the series of social problems with which the play deals, because these problems are vital and upon their proper solution depends much of the future welfare of society.

In *Stevedore* we have the approach to many of the serious problems to which the contact between Negroes and whites has given rise, and so effectively have the authors torn away the veil of disguise which capitalist institutions usually cast over the true facts that one cannot fail to see that these evils are the result of the social system, the laws, and the institutions under which these people live. The white people sincerely believe that they are divinely appointed to lean back on arbitrary cushions of racial privilege. So engrafted is their race prejudice that they feel they must forever live as a dominant caste among Negroes. Now, wherever such a state of mind flourishes, the Negro, as is very pointedly shown in *Stevedore*, becomes a very convenient target for the vengeance and all the bad passions of the white race. Especially is this true in times of economic stringency when the wretched conditions drive some few militant negroes to raise their voices in protest. Then, just the alarm that a white "Prostitute-virgin" has been raped is sufficient excuse for rounding up every militant negro and persecuting him as bitterly as could be imagined.

But it is most interesting to find, in this corrupt social environment, a few white people—the radicals—who realize that not Death only, but also exploitation and hunger have no regard for color, and therein the problem of white worker and Negro worker becomes identical. They are alert enough to recognize that they cannot effectively throw off their shackles without the complete alliance and confidence of the black worker. Of course, even in the ranks of the radicals are to be found some who like the rascal in *Stevedore* will refuse to have anything to do with negroes. They perhaps feel that this is the best way to avoid a metamorphosis. To these we can point out the case of the poor whites in South Africa who because they refuse to admit blacks to their unions are today socially degraded, servile and impotent in any fight against their exploiters. The fact is that they now form a permanent vagabond class.

The ebb and flow of confidence and mistrust among the negroes in *Stevedore* is an important aspect of the problem. Many negroes feel

that there can be no association between blacks and whites—that the wolf which but yesterday was chasing the flock demented can never be trusted to join the flock. Now, many enlightened white workers are inclined to condemn them for this attitude, but it is important to know that the bitterness of feeling resulting from centuries of ill-treatment and oppression, cannot be got rid of in a day. Pride of race is a very powerful weapon in the hands of white rulers. They feed it to the white underdogs to distract them from radical ideas, for they know that so long as white workers can be kept hating and fighting negroes they will be less vigorous in hating and fighting capitalists. Most white men and women have therefore learned to hate the Negro with perfect hatred. No wonder then some negroes believe that the battle of white agitators is only a sham fight, and are quite undecided as to whether or not it would be to their benefit to join.

This state of things naturally causes some pessimism among those who are honestly working for improved conditions, but for this pessimism *Stevedore* is a salutary corrective. Negroes, too, after many fears and doubts are coming to learn that the fight is at bottom a fight to remove all fetters, and many are quite willing to extend the hand of friendship and offer their heartiest cooperation to all the heralds of revolt and pioneers of a new social order. They are slowly realizing that in this march from serfdom to freedom they do not have sufficient strength of themselves and that they must look around for allies. This is only the starting point of an organic development. The goal of the radical movement is a worthy goal and worthy of everyone's efforts. In the order of things it is impossible for Negroes to be used only as temporary scaffolding to be discarded as soon as they have served the purpose. Negroes must be built into the permanent social structure of the future; and so they would do well to identify themselves with every movement that has for its purpose the destruction of this infamously bad society that has produced this mass of social evils with which they are at present afflicted. In the past white people have admired negroes who conceal their real thoughts or smothered through oppression and injustice. Today the Negroes must be prepared to change all that and to speak out and fight with courage as real men.

Group Life

(Continued from Page 2)

Against Credits To Nazi Germany

Members of the CPO have introduced resolutions against credits to Hitler Germany. The following organizations have already acted favorably in this campaign: Convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union; Dress-makers Local 22 ILGWU; Teachers Union Local 5; A Local of the International Association of Machinists; 2 branches of the Workers Committee on Unemployment in Chicago; Workmen Circle Branch 546 N. Y.; Slovenian National Benefit Society Branch 204, Anthracite.

A copy of this resolution will be sent to anyone interested.

Lithuanian Opposition Cooperating With CPO

The Central Committee of the Lithuanian Workers Society, in line with the decision of the last national conference, has sent to its branches a circular letter with suggestions on methods of cooperation with the CPO. Among the suggestions made were: exchange of representatives, cooperation of branches and fractions, support of the New Workers School, articles concerning the ICO and CPO in their press and financial support to the ICO.

Discussions in the branches are now proceeding on the basis of the proposals submitted to them.

CPO Participants In Many Debates

During the past month 3 debates have taken place in as many branches of the Workmen Circle in New York City between representatives of the CPO and the CP. In Branch 34 Comrade Lifshitz presented the viewpoint of the CPO against Perlow for the CP. In Branch 515 George Halbern spoke for the CPO against Hertz. In Branch 368 B. Shlachter represented the CPO against Luvin of the CP.

Invariably these debates were on the trade union question, indicating a keen interest in this question among the left and progressive workers.

This also holds true for the CP-controlled I.W.O. Comrade B. Shlachter presented the line of the CPO against Goldman for the CP. Over 200 workers were present and the discussion had to be continued over 2 meetings. A great deal of sympathy and support for the CPO trade union position was evident.

A Letter from Sweden

by A. SAYLOR

The writer of the letter is a marine worker, member of the Communist Party (Opposition). His letter deals with matters which are not only timely but also instructive.—Editor.

The first port we came to here in Europe was Gdynia, Pilsudski's only seaport. The first thing that struck me was the tremendous amount of scrap-iron being unloaded from ships of all nationalities, judging by what I could see I should say about 70% or 75% of all the imports in this city is scrap-iron and other war material. Another thing that struck me was the great number of Polish, yes, Polish sailors that I saw in the streets of Gdynia. It looks like Pilsudski is a "big navy" man—I wonder why. Some of you may not have known it but Poland has got a navy. Wherever you turn, wherever you look, in Gdynia, you are sure to see at least three or four different uniforms, and I don't mean uniforms worn by letter carriers and street-car conductors. They are worn by regular soldiers, gendarmes, marines, police and the special dock police all of course organized for the protection of and paid for by the Polish bourgeoisie. For this sort of thing there is no lack of money, but when it comes to paying the workers for their labor there seems to be quite a scarcity of it.

The longshoremen who unloaded our ship receive from 1 to 1½ zloty per hour. These are exceptionally high wages. When I asked one of them why they receive such high wages I was told that it was because they only work one and two and at the most three days a week. The Polish seamen and longshoremen are organized but are under constant terror exerted by police spies and provocateurs. Their organization is only semi-legal. A common laborer in Poland receives the magnificent sum of 30 to 50 groszy per hour (6 to 9 cents). A zloty at present is worth about 19½ cents but normally is worth only 12 cents. (A zloty is a hundred groszy).

The poverty is something terrible. Most of the shacks that the unemployed and poorly paid workers are forced to live in would be a disgrace to any of the American "Hoovervilles". Generally among the population there is an anti-Soviet sentiment, but sympathy for

the Soviet Union among the workers is not lacking. It is most likely that there is more sympathy for Communism and the Soviet Union than what appears on the surface, the terror preventing the workers from expressing it more openly. One night in a bar some of the boys from the ship had just enough beer to start them singing. Everything was fine and dandy till they began singing the International, then the house was in an uproar; the barmaids almost pleading on their knees that we stop singing the International because "die Polizei kommt, die Polizei kommt." (German is spoken almost as much as Polish there).

After a week in Gdynia we proceeded to Sweden and there the ship had to be repaired. Most of the crew was paid off and I proceeded to Gothenburg.

The chances are that I'll have to serve in His Majesty's army as there is compulsory military service here even under a Social-Democratic regime.

Yesterday I heard His Excellency, the Social-Democratic Prime Minister Manson, speak on the occasion of Swedish Flag Day. He spoke from the stadium in Stockholm, over the radio, where he mingled with the silk frocks and stove pipes of royalty and aristocracy. It was a "nationalistic people's" speech of the first rank. "Today is a day when all party strife should cease . . . All people regardless of their political opinions should today rally around and pay respect to the National Symbol . . . should lay down their political hatchets as the flag is the flag of all classes regardless of their standing in society," etc. etc. Such was the tone of his speech all the way through. It was enough to make any class-conscious worker vomit. I understand that his speech was rebroadcast to the U. S. so some of the comrades may have gotten a taste of it.

When I arrived in Gothenburg the first leaflet that was handed to me was a Swedish Nazi leaflet issued by the local branch of the "National Socialistiska Arbetspartiet" (NSAP) calling upon the workers to demonstrate in Masthugg Sq. They certainly had some nerve because this square lies in the heart of the working class section of the city and is also a stronghold of the official Communist party. It also happened that the Seamen's Institute where I was staying is situated on one side of the square so that the first mass meeting that I had the "pleasure" to witness was the largest fascist gathering ever held in Gothenburg if not in the whole country. The square and the sidewalks around it was jammed with people, mostly workers; there were approximately 6,000. The speech was of the typical demagogic fascist variety. Their flag is the same as the Hitlerites except that the ball in the center of their red flag is blue with a yellow hakenkreuz placed in the center. (Yellow and blue are the Swedish national colors.)

The loyalites called a counter demonstration on another square a little further away and I'm sorry to say that it was not as big as the Nazi demonstration. There were approximately 4,000 workers there. One of their leading lights by the name of Senander spoke. Never before had I realized how international and mechanical the ultra-left line is. I could have sworn that he had rotten his communist schooling from Hathaway in America or probably from I. Amter. The phrases and tone of his speech was typical of any that these American headline lights might make: the name calling, the sterile and dry approach, social-fascism, etc. etc.

From what I can see, a strong Communist Opposition is sorely needed in this country if it is not to go the way of Germany. The ugly head of fascism has already shown its face here.

QUESTIONS and ANSWERS

(Continued from Page 3)

as within the Communist Party. The International Communist Opposition considers the extension of its influence among the great mass of workers as the most effective way of demonstrating in life the correctness of its tactical strategy and of winning over the rank and file members of the official Communist Parties for its line and thus assuring the realization of world Communist unity.

c) If the false tactics of the Communist Party continue persistently, they will consequently lead to an abandonment of communist principles to a destruction of the connection between the party, on one hand, and the working class and its action, on the other. Under such conditions the Communist Party of U. S. (Opposition) will then become the Communist Party. Should the ultra-left sectarian tactics lead the official Communist Party to further weakness and isolation and should the Communist Party (Opposition) become strong enough, then, the Communist Party (Opposition) would become a Communist Party, in the full sense of the word. In this situation the Communist Party (Opposition) would utilize its improved position to hasten Communist unity, that is, to bring all Communists into one united Communist Party. The Communist Opposition is clearly aware of the fact that in one country only one communist party can exist. The official Party leadership is splitting the communist movement. The Communist Opposition wants to unify, save and strengthen the Communist Party of the United States.

6. How does the Communist Party of the U. S. and hence the Communist Party of U. S. (Opposition) differ in principle from the Socialist Party?

a) The Socialist Party (Social-Democracy) works

on the basis of utilizing the bourgeois state, bourgeois democracy, and consequently, on the basis of capitalist economic order.

b) The social-democracy maintains the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism within the framework of the bourgeois democratic republic, by means of bourgeois democratic methods; above all, by means of universal suffrage.

c) Since the social democracy thus protects the bourgeois state and the capitalist economic order, it actually is suppressing the class struggle of the workers. Wherever social-democratic parties are strong enough, they follow a policy of coalition with the bourgeois class, the bourgeois parties and the capitalists. To the social democracy the class struggle is only a phrase; in reality, it stands for class collaboration. The highest form taken by such class collaboration in the political field is the policy of coalition, cabinets which may be open or hidden, (toleration). In the economic field the Socialist Parties' class collaboration policies manifest themselves in support or toleration of reactionary and corrupt leaders, in fostering illusions or even giving active support to all sorts of capitalist substitutes for proletarian class struggle; for example, to implicit or tacit support of sundry capitalist economic or industrial democracy schemes.

d) The social democracy condemns the forceful armed seizure of power by the working class. At the same time, it supports the use of bourgeois force against the working class.

e) The Social democracy subordinates its foreign policy to that of the bourgeoisie of each country. Revolutionary proletarian internationalism, is therefore, impossible on the basis of social democracy.

f) Social democracy consequently has broken basically with the principles of revolutionary Marxism. It is a bourgeois workers party.

A. F. T. SCORES RACE DISCRIMINATIONS

Within two weeks a second magnificent blow has been struck against race discrimination when the American Federation of Teachers, scheduled to hold its national convention in Chicago decided to change its convention headquarters from the Medinah-Michigan Club which segregates and otherwise discriminates against Negroes.

The action of the A.F.T. follows the splendid example of the I.L.G.W.U. at its recent national convention. Local 22 of the I.L.G.W.U. which initiated the move against the Medinah-Michigan at the I.L.G.W.U. convention also called the matter to the attention of the A.F.T. which immediately responded to the fight against racial discrimination and inequality.

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Rumblings in Germany

THE echoes of the worsening economic conditions in Germany are becoming audible enough to alarm even the Nazi kingpins. Witness the declining foreign trade, the collapsing currency, the goldsterilization of the Mark, the multiplying rude manifestations of unrest among the Storm Troopers, the growing disillusionment among the middle class folks, and the ominous signs of reviving resistance among the proletariat, as shown in the heavy defeat inflicted upon the NSDAP in the recent "elections" for factory trustees.

It is in this atmosphere that Hitler's juggernaut of "justice" is being prepared for riding over Thaelmann, that the trial of the leader of the Communist Party of Germany is being "prepared" in the worst sense of Nazi savagery. It is likewise in this atmosphere that many liberals and socialists are enthusiastically looking forward to Papen and the Junker-Monarchist clique to restore to them the very Weimar democratic constitution which so admirably helped the Nazis come to power. Even some official Communists are becoming articulately hopeful that Papen and his Hindenburg will set the ball rolling, as the first page, if not, the first chapter, in the destruction of Fascism in Germany.

It is these two events which are most significant of trends in Germany just now. Let no one deny the growing seriousness of the economic crisis in Germany. Fascism has dismally failed to solve the inherent contradictions of German capitalism. It has only aggravated them. Things are bound to come to a head. But they have only begun to come to a head. Von Papen's address at Magdeburg is only a sign and at most a symbol of what's brewing in Nazi Germany. It is under no circumstances and cannot be the fire that will turn Hitlerism to ashes and painful memories. Nothing more politically asinine is conceivable to us than to look for a destruction of German Fascism thru a fight between the decadent reactionary Junkerdom, aristocracy and the reactionary degenerating rabble constituting the Nazi party bureaucracy. At most, such fights are very helpful and secondary to the decisive factors and forces in the situation.

If and when Hitlerism is to be overthrown in Germany it will be not by Monarchists, not by "light-seeing" bankers like Schacht, not by jealous generals but by an aroused and revolutionary proletariat. Papen, undoubtedly would like to displace Hitler. He always did. But Papen was unable to hold the Chancellorship when the Nazi Party was weaker, rent by inner dissension, and dangerously dispirited. Schleicher undoubtedly was as brainy, ambitious and powerful a general as the Reichswehr has had or has today. Yet, even when Schleicher was Chancellor he couldn't muster half a Reichswehr regiment to keep Hitler out of the chancellorship. Apparently our self-confessed brilliant liberals and deluded and misleading Social-democrats can never learn that history is not a record of intrigues, not a mere sort of mystery stories but a story of bitter conflicts between classes.

The mounting discontent in Germany is of inestimable importance. The Nazis are not blind to it. They recognize that constantly aggravated economic conditions spell a narrowing of the mass social base of their support and power and that this will hasten their doom. But contrary to the wishful thinkers in all camps the Nazis are no idiots. They smell the danger and understand that their real and mortal enemy is not Papen or the ever-more senile Hindenburg but the awakening working class. Hence, the Goebbels and the Hitlers will soon let loose floods of oratory and oceans of demagoguery against "the monocled barons and arrogant monarchist reactionaries who are forgetting their proper place." This will be done not so much to hurt them as to try to hold on desperately the disillusioned lower middle class and discontented working class. In this hypocritical game the Nazis will have the support of the big industrialists.

And the axis of the whole Hitler drive to the "left" to counteract the Junker malcontents who always looked down upon the Nazis as rabble, as upstarts without tradition or ability, will be a new fierce attack on the rising underground movement of German labor, especially communist and trade unionist. Here enters the Thaelmann trial as a factor. The Nazis have already taken steps thru the reorganization of their judicial machinery to avoid certain "errors" they made in the Reichstag fire trial. Nor must one forget for a moment that Dimitroff and his comrades were saved from the Nazi butchers only by the international solidarity of labor, particularly by the pressure of the Soviet proletariat and its mighty Bolshevik government. Yes, it was "Moscow interference" that made Hitler shrink from wielding the axe!

On the eve of the Thaelmann trial we must all join hands—communists, socialists, trade unionists and unorganized—to close our ranks to save Comrade Thaelmann. It is not a person who is on trial in this case. It is a whole class, it is the working class under Nazi terror and fire. In France the National committees of the Communist and Socialist parties have apparently come to some sort of an agreement for common action in a campaign to rescue Thaelmann. The CPO proposes that the CP, SP, and we join forces to take the initiative for launching and building an effective broad Save Thaelmann campaign. This will be the first step in preparing the ground for a mighty genuine anti-Fascist united front.

The American working class can do much to influence affairs in Germany to take a sharp turn for the better, to help undermine and bury Hitlerism. Not thru the Papens and Hindenburgs does the road to German working class freedom lie. Only the revolutionary German working class, aided by the militant solidarity of the international proletariat, can usher in a new day, a day of socialist freedom in Germany. We in the U. S. must at least do our part—and more.

Trade Union Notes

by G. F. M.

Auto Workers Press For Industrial Unionism

At the recent conference of federal locals of automobile workers, held in Detroit, the proposal for the merging of all locals into an International Union was defeated after severe pressure brought to bear by President William Green of the A. F. of L.

So great, however, was the desire for joint action and for one National union that Green was forced to compromise by permitting the establishment of a United Automobile Workers National Council.

It is clear that this national body will have no power whatever, except to advise the A. F. of L. heads on the desires of the automobile workers. It would be a serious error to believe that with this decision the question of industrial unionism is closed for the auto workers. This decision, wrested from the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, must be used to further the movement for industrial unionism in the trade union movement as a whole. This will undoubtedly be one of the main battle issues of the coming A. F. of L. convention. The federal locals must be prepared to do their part to supplant the present form of organization with the industrial form, which will permit more effective struggle for the economic demands of the workers.

Results Of Elections In Teachers Union

The administration of the Teachers Union has claimed that the oppositions in the union do not even represent 5% of the membership. More recently the Rank and File Group has insisted that it is the only opposition in the union, that the Progressive Group had lost whatever influence it had in the union. Both claims have been disproved by the recent elections in which about 1100 members participated.

The administration polled an average of 711 votes or 66.9%; the Rank and File Group received 190 votes or 17.8% and the Progressive Group polled 161 or 15.2% of the total vote. As compared to the opposition vote in previous elections, the total opposition strength of 33% of the vote represents an increase of support. This increase however is mainly confined to the Progressive Group, the Rank and File Group making smaller gains. Each of the oppositions elected

2 members to the Executive Board. This represents an increase of one for the Progressives but no increase for the Rank and File. Neither of the oppositions elected delegates to the A. F. T. convention. The only oppositionist coming close to election was the Progressive E. Davidson, who secured 273 votes.

Musteites In Anti-Union Acts In Paterson

A number of Musteites, members of the American Federation of Silk Workers, have been disciplined by the union for their destructive and anti-union activity.

Despite the smoke screens laid down by the Musteites the case is a relatively simple one. They united with the members of the C.P.-controlled National Textile Workers Union in a struggle against their own union. They went on the picket line of the N. T. W. U. in a strike declared because the employer hired a member of the U. T. W. The revolutionists of the N. T. W. U. did not strike when economic issues were involved but were quick to declare a strike against the U. T. W. worker. This case was so clear that a number of members of even the N. T. W. U. refused to recognize the strike and remained at work together with the members of the U. T. W.

Under these circumstances with their strike collapsing the CP supporters received with open arms, the aid of the little clique of disgruntled Musteites. These people marched on the picket lines with signs condemning the union, of which they are members, as a scab union and the manager of the union, Keller, as a scab herder. This present anti-union activity is merely a continuation of the dual unionist attitude of the Musteites during the last general strike. Muste supported the N. T. W. U. "strike" and was even scheduled to address their first strike meeting. The fact that Muste lacked the courage to show up at that meeting does not change the facts in the least. Muste never repudiated the leaflet announcing him as a speaker thus admitting his participation in it.

No self respecting union can permit its members to commit such breaches of elementary union loyalty. No union member can permit himself to embark on such a course as the Musteites followed, unless he is determined to split his union.



What Next For American Labor? Jay Lovestone Communist Party (Opposition)

The inauguration of the NRA in 1933 unleashed a mighty tidal wave of strikes and unionization that lashed out across the United States from coast to coast. "As if over night, the American trade union movement has grown to be the biggest in the world, next to that of Soviet Russia."

The NRA which was first hailed as a champion of labor is increasingly revealing that its objective is the destruction of unionism thru transforming "the working class unions of the A. F. of L. into virtual Fascist 'corporate unions'."

The three barriers to a more powerful trade union movement are: craft structure, dual unionism, and the absence of a progressive movement within the A. F. of L.

These are the characteristics of the new period of development which the American labor movement has entered, writes Jay Lovestone, in this pamphlet distinguished by its clear grasp of decisive factors and its unpretentious style.

The victory or defeat of American labor thus hinges largely on these two primary factors that will determine the road labor shall travel:

"These are: First, the desire and ability of the revolutionary workers, the communists, to work constructively inside the conservative A. F. of L. unions for their transformation into militant industrial unions; secondly, the industry and ability of the revolutionary and more progressive workers to take the leadership in educating and assimilating the millions of new A. F. of L. members, the hundreds of thousands of workers who have been pouring and will continue to pour into the unions."

Labor's apathy is gone and greater battles are impending. The answer to, will labor meet victory or defeat will depend on how quickly the communists and progressives apply themselves to the tasks set forth. A model of clarity in thought and exposition, the writer avoids writing "down to" the workers; and in a clear, forceful style delineates the key factors in the labor movement, so that, any literate worker can comprehend the tasks ahead.

—S.H.

Where We Stand Vo. 1 Communist Party (Opposition)

While many of the documents contained in this book have been available to the serious student of Communism, the need for a collection of these basic documents between two covers to facilitate a clear understanding of the crisis in Communism and the platform of the International Communist Opposition has been of long standing.

The significance of these documents lies in the fact that a high level of theoretical analysis of the cardinal problems before the Communist movement is presented free from abusive invective and couched in language appropriate to its sober, realistic contents. Like a powerful searchlight it illumines the dark caverns of the roots of the crisis and reveals the antidote for the poisons of Communist Party impotency.

In this volume the position of the ICO on Trotskyism, Centrism, New International, etc. is clearly defined. It is invaluable to Communists and constitutes a fitting reply to the literary small fry maligning the International Communist Opposition.

—S.H.

ROOF GARDEN CONCERT AND MOONLIGHT DANCE

THE HALL JOHNSON CHOIR SEXTET
IN A GROUP OF NEGRO SPIRITUALS

FRIDAY, JULY 6TH, 1934. 8:30 P. M.

LIDO ROOF GARDENS

160 WEST 146TH STREET
(near Lenox Avenue)

NEGRO JAZZ BAND

ADMISSION 50c. and 75c.

Auspices: COMMUNIST PARTY OPPOSITION
New York District

In case of rain Concert will be held in Auditorium

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